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A TRAGEDY OF EURIPIDES

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**RHESUS**

**A TRAGEDY OF EURIPIDES,**

**AN ESSAY**

**FOR**

**Special Honors in Greek**

**FROM THE**

**UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN,**

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**JUNE, 1880.**

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**—BY—**

**HENRY DECKER GOODWIN.**



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## **RHESUS**

# A TRAGEDY OF EURIPIDES.

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### I.

#### INTRODUCTION.

I. Since the days of Scaliger scholars have doubted whether Rhesus is a genuine tragedy of Euripides, and diverse theories have been advanced. Frederic Allen gives the present status of the question thus: "The Rhesus \* \* is almost universally thought to be spurious." However, the question at this time is an open one and debate is in order. The basis for doubts as to the authenticity of the play rests on the words of the Greek Argument saying that certain persons have regarded the play as spurious and not a genuine work of Euripides, as its character seems rather Sophoclean. With this clue, scholars have examined the style of the play and have in most cases decided the play to be spurious, not, however, strange as it may seem, on the ground taken by the argument, but on the ground that the play is unworthy of Euripides.

II. In a question of authorship, we must always be conservative, allowing our confidence to be shaken by nothing short of demonstration. This principle explains the failure of the somewhat plausible "Baconian theory of the authorship of Shakespeare's plays." It is probable that the Coriolanus of Shakespeare was merely touched up by the master, yet on this same principle, we are loth to call the play spurious.

III. In criticising a Greek play, we must put ourselves in the place of the Greeks and in imagination surround ourselves

with their associations, otherwise our criticism must in many instances be at fault. Owing to difference in associations we differ markedly from the Greeks in the manner of viewing their whole scenic development. What seems ridiculous to us might seem to them most solemn and affecting. No one can read the Philoctetes without laughing heartily at the hero who goes limping about, caressing his sore heel, all the while uttering the most lugubrious and heart-rending *ως οἰμοῖς* and *ότοτοῖς*. Every one is disgusted at the Hercules in the "Maidens of Trachis" because he does not endure his death more calmly. (v. Trach. 983 sqq.) But in the world's childhood man is a child and expresses his feelings as a child. Achilles cries with rage. Venus screams because her hand is hurt and flies away leaving her son to the mercy of his foes "*ἡ δὲ μέγα iάχονσα ἀπὸ ἔο κάββαλεν νιόν.*" Mars roars like nine or ten thousand men shouting the war cry in battle just because he is not victorious in the tumult.

*"ὅ δ' ἔβραχε χάλκεος Ἀρης,  
ὅσσον τ' ἐννεάχιλοι ἐπίαχον ἢ δεκάχιλοι  
ἀνέρες ἐν πολέμῳ, ἔριδα ἐννάγοντες Ἀρης.  
τοὺς δ' ἄρ' ὑπὸ τρόμος εἰλεν Ἀχαιούς τε Τρῶάς τε  
δείσαντας τόσον ἔβραχ" Ἀρης ἄτος πολέμοιο."* (Il. V. 859-864.

The volatile Athenians could appreciate and reciprocate these sentiments inasmuch as they did not regard our law that it is manly and noble to conceal physical suffering and *vice versa*. The Greek laws of scenic representation caused to us many strange and even ludicrous scenes. The chorus in the Medea of Euripides, although the slightest interference on its part could have prevented a terrible tragedy, exhibits a most puerile hesitation. Medea has entered the palace gates with the avowed purpose of murdering her children, while the chorus moves helplessly through strophe and antistrophe calling upon Earth and Sun, 'alking of blood and pity, etc. till Medea seizes the children and their pitiful screams are heard, whereupon the chorus debates whether it would not be as well to step into the court to arrest the murder; but after mature de-

liberation, during which the children are murdered, the chorus concludes that instead of rendering assistance it would be as well to have a song, and they strike up:

*τάλαιν' ως ἄρ' ἡσθα πέτρος ἡ σιδαρος &c., &c.*

This affects us as it does because we fail to appreciate the law that the chorus must take no part in the development of the plot, which law occasionally put the tragedian in most desperate straits. Walter Scott well illustrates this point in his "Essay on the Drama." We quote: "When a deed of violence was to be acted, the helpless chorus, instead of interfering to prevent the atrocity to which the perpetrator had made them privy, could only, by the rules of the theater, exhaust their sorrow and surprise in dithyrambrics. This was well ridiculed by Bentley in his farce called the 'Wishes,' in one part of which strange performance he introduced a chorus after the manner of the ancient Greeks, who are informed by one of the *dramatis personae*, that a madman with a firebrand had just entered the vaults beneath the place which they occupy, and which contains a magazine of gun-powder. The chorus, instead of stirring from the dangerous vicinity, immediately commence a long complaint of the hardship of their fate exclaiming pathetically 'Oh! unhappy madman—or, rather, unhappy we, the victims of this madman's fury—or thrice, thrice unhappy the friends of the madman, who did not secure him and restrain him from the perpetration of such deeds of phrensy—or three and four times hapless the keeper of the magazine who forgot the keys in the door.'"

Then, to be successful critics of the Greek stage, we must be Greeks, fight their battles, live with them, imbue ourselves with their spirit. We must feel heart-broken at the apparent childishness of Ajax. We must, not blame Medea—nay, we must sympathize with her in that terrible revenge on her faithless husband. Bearing these principles in mind may aid us in the explanation of some of the difficulties in Rhesus.

## II.

### THE RHECUS OF EURIPIDES AND HOMER.

I. The scene of the play lies in the Trojan camp near the tent

of Hector and the time is toward dawn. The Trojan encampment is near the defeated Greeks. Unusually bright signal fires kindled by the Greeks alarm the Trojan guards who all hasten to Hector's tent to arouse him. They *all* run to the tent because they are simply *milites gregarii* and therefore know no better. Hector, on awakening, rebukes the guards for deserting their posts, and as soon as they recover themselves they make the exciting announcement of the huge bonfires and the council of the Greeks. Hector, in accordance with his quick and thoughtless temper, is for rousing the army at once, as he supposes the Greeks are in full flight. Aeneas enters, and, viewing the situation more calmly, advises the sending of a spy, when, if it should be ascertained that the Greeks were really in flight, and the bonfires pretexts, then would be the time to arm the hosts. This is victory of *νοῦς* over *χεῖρ*—of mind over thoughtless physical force. Dolon offers himself as a spy providing after the forthcoming victory and destruction of the Greeks he shall receive as his reward the immortal steeds of Achilles; then assuming the disguise of a wolfskin the spy disappears in the darkness after undertaking to fetch the head of one of the Grecian chiefs as a testimony. The chorus of the Trojan guards close the first act with a beautiful prayer to Apollo for the preservation of Dolon, ending however with the harsh wish that he bring back the head of Agamemnon—a wish in accordance with the spirit of the heroic age when the blood of an enemy, was the best recommendation one could have.

vss. 1-264

A shepherd rushes in to announce the arrival of Rhesus with his Thracian army whose magnificent array is described with wonderful beauty and aptness. He says:

“ορῶ δὲ Ρῆσον ὥστε δαίμονα  
εστῶτ’ ἐν ἵππειοισι Θρηκίοις ὄχοις  
χρυσῆ δὲ πλάστιγξ αὐχένα δυγηφόρον  
πώλων ἔκληε χιόνος ἐξανγεστέρων.  
πέλτη δ’ ἐπ’ ὄμυσιν χρυσοκολλήτοις τύποις  
ἔλαμπε. Γοργῶν δ’ ως ἀπ’ αιγίδος θεᾶς

χαλκῆ, μετώποις ἵππικοῖσι πρόσδετος,  
πολλοῖσι σὺν κώδωσιν ἐκτύπει φόβον.  
στρατοῦ δὲ πλῆθος οὐδ' ἀν ἐν ψήφου λόγῳ  
θέσθαι δύναι' ἀν, ὡς ἄπλατον ἦν ιδεῖν,  
πολλοὶ μὲν ἵππεῖς, πολλὰ πελταστῶν τέλη,  
πολλοὶ δ' ἀτράκτων τοξόται, πολὺς δ' ὅχλος  
γυμνῆς ὁμαρτῆ, Θρησκίαν ἔχων στολήν.  
τοιόσδε &c. (301-314.)

Even if we admit that these words are out of place in the mouth of a simple herdsman yet it is no worse than the philosophizing of the nurse in the Medea. Moreover it is not uncommon for Euripides to make his cowboys speak like Kings.

Hector hesitates at first whether he shall receive Rhesus with his tardy aid but finally does whereupon the chorus hail Rhesus joyfully praying however to Adrasteia: “*Ἄδράστεια μὲν ἀ Διός παῖς είργοι στομάτων φθόνον.*” which looks towards the disaster of the play with a mournful certainty. (204-387.)

Act II is taken up mostly with a specious Euripidean forensic dialogue where Hector blames Rhesus for his tardiness and Rhesus answers explicitly, triumphantly closing with these words:

“*σύ μὲν γὰρ ἥδη δέκατον αἰχμάλωτος ἔτος,  
κούδὲν περαίνεις, ἡμέραν δ' ἐξ ἡμέρας  
ρίπτεις κυβεύων τὸν πρὸς Ἀργείους Ἀρην.  
ἔμοι δὲ φῶς ἐν ἡλίου καταρκέσει,  
πέρσαντι πύργους ναυστάθμοις ἐπεισπεσεῖν  
κτεῖναι τ' Ἀχαιούς· Θατέρῳ δ' ἀπ' Ἰλίου  
πρὸς οίκον εῖμι, συντεμὼν τοὺς πόνους.  
ὑμῶν δε μή τις ἀσπίδ' ἄρηται χερί  
ἔγὼ γὰρ ἐξω τοὺς μέγ' αὐχούντας, δορὶ<sup>1</sup>  
πέρσας, Ἀχαιούς, καίπερ ὕστερος μολὼν.*” (441-453.)

which the chorus interrupts with the ominous words: “*May mighty Jove ward from thy words all ill result.*”

The boasting of Rhesus is carried to the extreme by his pro-

posing an invasion of Greece from which even the boldness of Hector shrinks as he says: "The land of Argos and of Hellas is not so easy to ravage as thou sayest."

Here perhaps is a historical reference to flatter the audience and encourage them against any danger from the east again. Rhesus continues his boasting which prepares the spectators for his doom, yet the *comparative* insignificance of his error prevents our failing to feel pity and sorrow at his death.

Now Hector leads Rhesus to a camping place and the chorus change watches, at which time we must bear in mind it is that Ulysses and Diomedes enter the Trojan Camp as spies. Act III closes with what may be called an astronomical chorus whose correctness in detail points to the astronomer Euripides as its writer. It is the deep darkness before the gray dawn when the chorus sings the Antistrophe:

“καὶ μὴν αὖτε, Σιμόεντος  
ἡμένα κοίτας  
φονίας ύμνει πολυχορδοτάτη  
γήρυνι παιδολέτωρ μελοποιὸς ἀηδονὶς μέριμναν.  
ἢδη δὲ νέμουσι κατ’ Ἰδαν  
ποίμνια· νυκτιβρόμον  
σύριγγος ιὰν κατακούω.  
Θέλγει δ’ ὄμματος ἔδραν  
ῦπνος ἀδιστος γὰρ ἔβα βλεφάροις πρὸς ἀοῦς.”  
(546-555.)

Act IV opens with the appearance of Ulysses and Diomedes with drawn swords. They find the tent of Hector empty and are about to return content with the slaughter of Dolon the spy, when Minerva appears to tell them of Rhesus, what the result would be if he should not be put to death and, in the form of Venus calms the disturbed Paris. In the mean time Ulysses and Diomedes, their object accomplished, escape with difficulty, by Minerva's aid, to their friends. Act IV closes with the entrance of the wounded charioteer of Rhesus. (555-755.)

The charioteer opens act V with a long account of the dis-

aster. His relation is wonderfully graphic (cf. 780-794.) He then accuses Hector of the murder, alleging desire for the milk white coursers of Rhesus as Hector's reason; to which grave charge Hector answers rather tamely: “σὺ δ' οὐν νόμιζείς ἐπείπερ σοι δοκεῖ.” (868.) And when the charioteer wishes he could die in his fatherland Hector rather coolly advises him not to die. “μὴ θνῆσχ” ἄλις γὰρ τῶν τεθνήκτων ὄχλος.” (870.)

The “*Deus ex Machina* now a second time appears in the shape of the muse, mother of Rhesus, with her son in her arms. She relates the whole course of her life from the unhappy accident that led to Rhesus' birth to the unhappy fate that led to his death. She says her son shall be a spirit in the Thracian mountains:

κρυπτὸς δ' ἐν ἄντροις τῆς ὑπαργύρου χθονὸς  
ανθρωποδαίμων κείσεται βλέπων φάος,  
βάνχον προφήτης ὥστε Παγγαίου πέτραν  
φύκησε, σεμνὸς τοῖσιν εἰδόσιν θεός. (970-974.)

These verses (the apotheosis of Rhesus) Vater believes fix the date of the play B. C. 437.

The purpose of this tragedy is to teach that pride must have a fall; to contrast the cunning and ability of the Greeks with the carelessness and inefficiency of the Trojans; to encourage the Greeks against an invasion from the East. The tragic quality of the play is strong for we are greatly moved to see the desolation wrought in one short moment.

II. The *Δολώνεια* of Homer. Agamemnon aroused by the fear of a night attack hastens to Nestor's tent who arouses Ulysses and Diomedes “νῦν γὰρ δὴ πάντεσσιν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ  
ισταται ἀκμῆς η μάλα λυγρὸς ὄλεθρος Ἀχαιοῖς ηὲ βιωταῖ (173-174.) Finding the guards vigilant, all the chiefs being aroused cross the *τάφρος* and form a council “ἐν καθαρῷ,  
ὅθι δὴ νεκύων διεφαίνετο χῶρος πιπτόντων” In accordance with Nestor's advice a spy is chosen, Diomedes, who chooses as his companion, Ulysses. They hasten away “for the night is far spent and the morning is near.” Pallas Athena invisible accompanies them. At vs. 299 the scene changes to

the Trojan camp where Hector asks who will volunteer to act as spy:

“δῶσω γὰρ δίφρον τε δύω τ’ ἐριαύχενας ἵππους,  
οἵ κεν ἄριστοι ἔωσι θοῆς ἐπὶ νηυσὸν Ἀχαιῶν,  
ὅς τις κε τλαίη, οἵ τ’ αὐτῷ κῦδος ἄροιτο,  
νηῶν ὀκυπόρων σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν ἐκ τε πυθέσθαι,  
ἥ φυλάσσονται νῆες θοαὶ, ὡς τὸ πάρος περ,  
φύξιν βουλεύουσι μετὰ σφίσιν, οὐδ’ ἐθέλουσιν  
νύκτα φυλασσέμεναι, καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες αἰνῷ.”

(305-312.)

Dolon *πολύχρυσος πολύχαλκος* volunteers, providing Hector will swear he will give him the horses of Achilles. This being done by Hector, Dolon sets forth in wolfskin disguise. “Ἐσσατο δ’ ἐντοσθεν ρίνὸν πολιοῖο λύκοιο. He sets forth but meets the Grecian spies and stands trembling, his teeth chattering *χλωρὸς ὑπαὶ δείους*. He reveals the position of all the Trojans and of his own accord the position of the newly arrived Rhesus. (435-441.) Contrary to the promise given by Ulysses, (383) Dolon is slain. The spies hasten to Rhesus' tent, Ulysses captures the horses, Diomedes slays their owner with numerous others, and, through Athena's care they escape the Trojans now aroused, and, arriving at the Grecian camp, take a bath and a lunch and go to bed.

III. There is a similarity and a dissimilarity in the plots. But the author of Rhesus seems to have followed Homer as closely as the difference between the epic and scenic would allow. Let us examine the difference between the plots to see whether the author of the play has varied from the author of the poem for the worse. The scene in Homer changes from the Grecian to the Trojan camp, while the scene of Rhesus lies entirely in the Trojan camp near the tent of Hector. The play is so brief (but 996 lines) that we might suspect with Hartung that it is a fragment to which the prologue is lost. It seems strange that Ulysses and Diomedes should come in unannounced, and that we hear next to nothing of the fate of Dolon. Except the Iphigenia in Aulis,

a suspected play, this is the only Drama of Euripides without a prologue; Hartung's theory is supported by two fragments of prologues being preserved in the Greek argument. He also supports his arguments by quotations from "*Christus Patiens*" the author of which imitated Rhesus. Hartung concludes that the prologue took place in the camp of the Greeks and represented a scene similar to vss. 1-299 lib. X, Iliad. However a prologue of this nature would violate the law that there can be no change of scene which would change the chorus. Here the *Greek* soldiery would have to constitute the chorus of the prologue and the *Trojan* of the remainder of the play which would be intolerable. We may suppose a prologue to have been lost which was spoken by Juno and that one of the fragments preserved in the Greek argument is genuine (for it is by no means *πάντα πεπάσι*) if it were not for the words of the same argument "*προλογίζει δὲ χορὸς φυλάκων Τροικῶν*" where 1-10 of the play as we now have it are regarded as prologue. The whole matter is however doubtful; but at any rate the departure of the tragedy from the epic as regards scene is in accord with the laws of the Greek drama. The Homeric Dolon leaves the Trojan camp *after* the arrival of Rhesus, the Euripidean just before. This change is made that there may be a *nodus deo vindice dignus* for bringing Pallas in at vs. 595. The *nodus* is untied by (1) Telling Rhesus' position and the result if he be not slain, (2) Deceiving Paris under the guise of Venus, (3) Making the flight of the men safe. In Homer the only excuse is (3) which in itself is not perhaps sufficient for tragic purposes. (v. Heath.)

The *δολώνεια* seems to be introduced in the play for the sake of contrast alone, therefore to follow the incident out as in Homer would obstruct the course of the drama and destroy its unity.

The dialogue between Hector and Dolon concerning the horses lacks the directness and force of the Homeric, yet the cringing, cunning nature of Dolon is such that he would not speak out like a man but would naturally talk evasively as in the play.

Rhesus must be introduced on the stage in order that we

may take an interest in the hero. The variations are trifling after this till the *deus ex machina* is for the second time introduced. The *nodus* is again three fold: (1) To free Hector from the charge of the charioteer, (2) To give color to the old legend of Rhesus being an anthropodaemon, (3) To emphasize the political and moral lessons of the play. Add to this a desire to pander to the love of the spectators for the supernatural and you have sufficient reason for the introduction of a divinity.

Where the poet has diverged from Homer he has manifested plainly his ability to swim alone. The very life of the tragedy would seem to indicate that it was written *viva attica scena*.

As regards the play itself, the tragic element is too strong to allow of its being called a satyric drama. It must be called a tragedy modified (like the *Eumenides*) by the political and moral lessons to be inculcated.

### III.

#### DIRECT EVIDENCE.

I. Direct statements of fact by the ancients must be accepted by us as direct evidence, and if their direct evidence does not prove Rhesus spurious only an overwhelming amount of internal evidence can. We shall see that none of the ancients doubted the worthiness of the play and all except *εὐτοι* accepted its genuineness unquestioned. These *εὐτοι* thought the author Sophocles from reasons *ex stilo*. But style varies with subject, therefore the uniqueness in the plot of Rhesus should account for a certain uniqueness in the style. Moreover the style is not particularly Sophoclean. Lachmann thinks it rather Aeschylean. Others claim that there is a melange of styles proving the author to be an "*ineptus imitator*," a statement not at all supported by the play; moreover, the strongest internal evidence could scarcely impugn the authenticity as against the authority of antiquity. "It is a question of *testimony* rather than of style. If the testimony is distinct, consistent, and given by several competent writers of an early date for the genuineness, and if the style is not very very decidedly *against* it, then we have no right to take the side of in-

credulity. And this is just the state of the case. "No man can *prove* the play to have come from another hand: the *Didascaliae*, the grammarians, and the *constans fama* of antiquity, assert that Euripides was the author." (Paley's Euripides, vol. 1, p. 8.)

II. The earliest direct evidence is perhaps from the *ὑπόθεσις* of the second century B. C. "Ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος εἰν Τροίᾳ. ὁ δὲ χορὸς συνέστηκεν ἐκ φυλάκων Τρωικῶν, οἱ καὶ προλογίζουσι. \* \* τοῦτο τὸ δράμα ἔνιοι νόθον ὑπενόησαν, ὡς οὐκ ὃν Εὐριπίδου τὸ γὰρ Σοφόκλειον μᾶλλον ὑποφαίνει[ν] χαρακτῆρα. ἐν μέντοι ταῖς Διδασκαλίαις ὡς γνήσιον αναγέγραπται, καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰ μετάρσια δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πολυπραγμοσύνῃ τὸν Εὐριπίδην δομολογεῖ. Πρόλογοι δὲ διττοὶ φέρονται. \* \* \*

The worth of the drama is attested to by the fact that the only persons who considered the drama spurious attributed it to Sophocles and that it is not until modern times that any argument against the authenticity has been based on the unworthiness of the play. The great vindication of the tragedy must however be in the assertion of the *ὑπόθεσις* that it was recorded in the *Didascaliae* as genuine. These *Didascaliae* or records of plays were composed from Athenian choregic inscriptions by such men as Aristarchus, Parmeniscus, Dionysodorus, and Crates. We must conclude that Rhesus is authentic—the work of Euripides the son of Mnesarchus for the words of the argument *δύο πρόλογοι φέρονται* do not allow Paley's suggestion: "It is perhaps possible (as the author of the Greek argument tells us that two distinct prologues were current in antiquity) that two plays of the same name, but by different authors, have been confused and thus that the extant play has been erroneously assigned to Euripides," for the words in the same argument "ὁ δὲ χορὸς συνέστηκεν ἐκ φυλάκων Τρωικῶν, οἱ καὶ προλογίζουσι prove both prologues to be spurious, since the φύλακες could have spoken neither of them.

III In the "Vita Euripidis" taken from MSS. in the Ambrosian and Vatican libraries and Vienna distinct mention

is made of the plays deemed spurious yet Rhesus is not included. “τὰ πάντα δ' ἦν αὐτῷ δράματα 5β' σώζεται δὲ οἵ τούτων νοθεύεται τρία Τέννης, Ραδάμανθυς, Πειρίθους.”

The scholium to verse 210 reads “Ἀπίθανον τετραποδίζειν αὐτὸν ὡς τοὺς λύκους· οὐδὲ γάρ Ομηρος διὰ τοῦτο τὴν λυκείαν αὐτῷ περιτίθησιν.” but possibly the poet was as good an interpreter of Homer as the grammarian. The scholia to verses 256, 341, 489, and 495, object to certain statements on the ground that they are anachronisms. But poets handle fabulous chronology somewhat as they please; e. g. Virgil in the case of Dido and Aeneas, Milton in his gunpowder scene in heaven, Shakespeare in calling King Theseus “Duke.” The scholium to vs. 528 reads “Κράτης ἀγνοεῖν φησὶ τὸν Εὐριπίδην τὴν περὶ τὰ μετέωρα θεωρίαν διὰ τὸ νέον ἔτι είναι ὅτε τὸν Ρῆσον εδίδασκε.” Here appears a clue to the date of the play yet on careful examination it proves a phantom. The age of a *νέος* is very indefinite—anywhere from youth through middle life [Il. XIII. 95.] Crate's date is a mere conjecture, otherwise the precise grammarian would have given the precise date. The historical references all seem to point to a date some years before the Peloponnesian war began, and perhaps even at that date Euripides might still be called *νέος*. If we take *νέος* to mean youth the play needs no explanation, but if with Vater we put the date of the play at 437 B. C. it is explicable on historical and political grounds just as the Eumenides is explained by its political object, the upholding of the sanctity of the Areopagus against the assaults of Pericles. Crates accuses Euripides of error in the astronomical matter of Rhesus through an error of his own. “ἔοικε δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς φράσεως αμφιβολίας κεκρατῆσθαι.” Crates took the construction to be: “πρῶτα δύεται σημεῖα καὶ ἐπτάποροι Πλειάδες αἰθέριαι [δύονται] μέσα δ' Ἀετὸς οὐρανοῦ ποτᾶται,” whereas had he construed “πρῶτα δύεται σημεῖα καὶ ἐπτάποροι πλειάδες αἰθέριαι [εἰσιν]” &c., he could not have grumbled

at Euripides' astronomy. Hartung notices (Euripides Werke, vol. 17 p. 142) that Euripides was the first to call the Pleiades ἐπτάποροι as but six are visible to the naked eye.

IV. The fact that Longus, Attius, and possibly Virgil, (Aeneid XII, 346-9) and Ovid, imitated the Rhesus shows that in ancient times the Rhesus was much better known than the work of an "ineptus imitator" or even an excellent Alexandrian grammarian could have been.

The direct evidence here presented proves the authenticity of Rhesus yet we shall venture on the thin ice of indirect evidence more to attempt a refutation of the errors of others than to strengthen the evidence of this chapter. We must not forget the old saw: "εἰν σκότῳ πλίσσων πόδας σφάλλει καὶ πλάνη ἐπεται."

#### IV.

##### OPINIONS OF MODERNS.

I. Jos. Scaliger in *Prolegomena ad Manilium* was the first of the moderns to impugn the authenticity of the play. He ascribed it to Sophocles, a noble testimony to its worth: "Auctor Rhesi tragœdiae vetustissimus qui sine dubio non est Euripides \* \* character grandiloquentioris poetæ foetum arguit puta Sophoclis." et sqq. Scaliger is however somewhat doubtful as to whether Sophocles is the author, and in his annotations to Virgil's Culex simply says that Euripides is not the author of Rhesus. Florens Christianus, Daniel Heinsius, Andreas Schottus, and, in later times, K. O. Mueller think the play Sophoclean in character but that Sophocles was not the author. A. W. Schlegel says: "Dem zufolge wuerde ich, wenn das Stueck dem Euripides abgesprochen werden soll, auf einen eklektischen Nachahmer ratthen aber eher aus der schule des Sophocles als des Euripides und zwar wenig spaeter als beyde." Od. Mueller thinks the play is Sophoclean and Aeschylean. Lachmann, *De Choricis Systematis Tragicorum p. 116*, says: "Ceterum is poeta qui Rhesum scripsit, carmina chorica ad eandem plane rationem contexuit, quam Sophocles et Euripides in antiquissimis earum fabularum quae extant secuti sunt, quapropter mihi difficile est illum poetam cum Hermanno ad serioru

*tempora detrudere, praesertim cum eum Aeschylum saepe imitari videam, non Sophoclem aut Euripidem, totam autem fabulam non tam τὸν Σοφόκλειον χαρακτῆρα prodere quam Aeschyleum."*

II. Samuel Petit (followed by Schoell in his Greek History) thinks the "oeconomia" will not sanction the attributing of the play to Euripides, Sophocles or Aeschylus: "*Tragoediae Rhesi quis auctor non sit facilius dici potest, quam demonstrari, quis sit ὁ τοῦ παιδίου πατήρ. Sophocli vero aut Aeschylo non posse oeconomia hujus fabulae a Sophoclea longe diversa et dictionis character ab illo utriusque plane alius nullo negotio evincunt. Dicemusne auctorem illius fuisse Aristarchum poetam tragicum non incelebrem Euripidis aequalem?*"

III. The theory advanced in this paragraph has obtained most credit because it affirms nothing certain as to the author or time of acting of Rhesus. A harsh criticism of the play is sufficient reason to the supporters of this theory for pronouncing it undoubtedly spurious, all the evidence being that of style. Beck closes his Diatribe with: "*hoc tamen nemo non concedet, fabulae auctorem non esse Euripidem.*" *Ex uno disce omnes*, we would say with Virgil. As we said, in this theory little stress is laid on the author and the time, yet conjectures are made. Hardion puts the time a little after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants but before Isocrates. H. thinks however that the characters are, with the exception of Rhesus fairly represented but that Rhesus is too much a repetition of the character of Hector. Valckenaer thinks Delrio's opinion that the play is by another Euripides not improbable. Beck puts the time as probably "*non diu post Euripidis aetatem.*" Beck also thinks [the author did not know any too much Greek. The names of Matthiae, Raumer, Tieck, Elmsley, Reisig, Monk, Porson, Welcker, Trollope, and Boeck belong here Matthiae, Elmsley and Boeck subsequently retracted their opinions.

IV. Morstadt, in 1827, endeavored to prove by aesthetical considerations that the Rhesus was so ill arranged that it could

not be of Euripides but betrayed its Alexandrian origin. This opinion was vehemently supported by Godofr. Hermann in his third volume of *opuscula* published the next year. Thus a pure conjecture was given an authority which caused many supporters. Of these Lindemann is the most violent. He says "whoever thinks he can refute the arguments which Hermann has advanced concerning the later age of Rhesus and concerning its open imitation of the old tragedians, I most confidently believe writes not with a zeal for truth but with a desire for sport." Menzer and Hagenbach have adopted Hermann's theory.

V. William Dindorf in his annotations to Euripides, Oxford, 1840, says: "*quidquid vitio vituperatores Rheso vertant, in contrarium valere partem, si statuatur Rhesum pro satyrico dramate quarto loco doctam esse, ut hodie de Alcestide constet.*" To this opinion, that Rhesus is a satyric drama, Spengler (1857) subscribes.

Hartung (Euripides restitutus and Greek Ed. of Euripides) and Paley (Euripides, Bibliotheca Classica) strongly support the external evidence and put the play in Euripides' youth. Boeck, Matthiae, and Elmsley retracted the opinions of their earlier days and subscribed to the evidence. Fr. Bothe says: "*sane id illos (didascaliarum auctores) non facturos fuisse puto nisi aequales fabulam ad Euripidem retulissent. Qui ut in multis impar hic sibi est quid tum postea? Mutamur homines imparesque sibi sunt Shakespearius, Schillerus, Goethius, alii adeo ut non eosdam agnoscas.*" Anthon is of the same opinion and Lobeck quotes Rhesus as genuine. Vater, in his masterly vindication of Rhesus, puts the date at 437 when Hagno planted a colony in Thrace and transferred from Troy the bones of Rhesus. (462 sqq.)

## V.

### A CONSIDERATION OF IV.

I. The argument that Sophocles or some writer of the Sophoclean school was the author of the play is difficult to refute not that there is any probability in the statement but because style, the basis of the statement, is so uncertain a thing to argue from, that true it is if Rhesus come down to us *sine*

*nomine*, it would be difficult to determine its author. The origin of the argument under consideration is the statement of the writer of the first "hypothesis" (Aristophanes of Byzantium?) that the play is Sophoclean in style. Scaliger bases his argument partly on the astronomical chorus (v. 528 *sqq.*) quoting from Iphigenia at Aulis the passage: " $\Sigma\epsilon\iota\rho\iota\sigma\epsilon\gamma\gamma\dot{\nu}\tau\dot{\iota}\tau\dot{\iota}\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\pi\dot{\rho}\rho\sigma\pi\lambda\epsilon\dot{\alpha}\delta\sigma\dot{\alpha}\iota\sigma\sigma\omega\tau$ ," where he says: *Quomodo non consuluit oculos suos, ut posset videre quantum intervallum sit inter Sirium et Ursam Maiorem? haec ergo fuit rudiorum illorum rudior astrologia.* In other words the argument is: The astronomical passage in Rhesus is correct, but Euripides did not (?) write astronomical passages correctly, therefore the play is not of Euripides. The artful and effective wording of 285-316 and 546-555 show Sophoclean elegance. Nevertheless there are more Aeschylean characteristics than Sophoclean. The pomp of Rhesus and his Thracian hosts, the general nobility of the characters and scenery, point to Aeschylus; but these characteristics arise from the exigencies of the plot.

To suppose with Schlegel that the writer of Rhesus was an an eclectic imitator is gratuitous for with the same ease we may assert this of the writer of Macbeth, for this imitator copied Holinshed, Shakespeare, Drayton (v. scene I, line 12, act I) and Fletcher and Beaumont's "Knight of the Golden Pestle." (v. Rolf's Shakespeare, Macbeth, p. 11.) There is no reason why, for a few moments, when the subject demanded, Euripides could not become Sophocles or Aeschylus, for in every good writer the style should vary with the nature of the subject.

II. In the preceding chapter II., Samuel Petit refers the play to Aristarchus a contemporary of Euripides thus probably tacitly assenting to the worthiness of the play, inasmuch as Aristarchus was an excellent tragic poet. Petit thinks the handling of the play is such that it cannot be of Aeschylus, Sophocles, or Euripides. But what testimony of style can show the play to be Aristarchean when only fragments of Aristarchus are extant? Tragedians were plentiful at Athens, why not attribute it to one of them and not to Aristarchus? Petit's proposition is extremely improbable nevertheless it has been accepted by Schoell.

These first two theories are comparatively unimportant resting as they do on the purest conjecture, but the theory advanced in the third section of the last chapter is all important in the history of attempts made to establish the unauthenticity of Rhesus. This theory we shall now examine.

III. The argument used here is that Rhesus is unworthy of Euripides and therefore not of Euripides. In a similar way we could say: "The Gilded age" is unworthy of Mark Twain therefore it was not written by Mark Twain. It would also prove the lack of genuineness of much of the work of such poets as Schiller, Goethe, and Shakespeare. (v. C. W. Nauck, excursus on Horati Carminum, Lib. III, Ode. XI, 49-52, where he refutes a similar argument of Hofman Peerlkamp to prove the unauthenticity of vss. 49-52.) Nevertheless if the supporters of the theory under consideration show that the play is absolutely wretched, that it betrays the hand of a tyro, then we may admit the possibility of their theory.

Beck's *Diatribe de Rheso* contains most of the objections made against Rhesus. Let us then examine the *Diatribe seriatim* to see if its criticisms are sustained by facts. The objections are: "*Duplex actio*" (§ 2) thus violating the law of unity in the drama. These two "*actiones*" are the Doloneia and the murder of Rhesus; but the Doloneia is but an episode merely for contrast and variety. The *actio* would have been twofold only in case the Doloneia had been dwelt upon forcibly. If the Doloneia is an *actio* then there are four in the Phoenissae. (1) The sacrifice of Mnestheus, (2) The duel of Eteocles and Polynices resulting in the death of both, (3) The refusal to bury Polynices and the dead of the Argive army, which forms the *actio* of the Antigone of Sophocles, (4) The banishment of Oedipus (cf. Oedipus Tyrannus and Oed. Coloneus.) But (1), (3,) and (4) are entirely subordinate to (2) and used merely to heighten the effect of and give variety to the main action; hence in both plays the action is a unit.

The second objection (§ 2) is to the disguise of Dolon in a wolfskin. But as we have said it is possible at least that the passage in Homer, which the author of Rhesus drew from means that Dolon disguised himself in a wolfskin, also Jose-

phus, De Bell. Jud. 3, 7, 14, *proves* that it was the custom for spies to disguise themselves in this manner. Josephus says that spies were accustomed to cover their backs with skins in order that if anyone should espy them at night they might be mistaken for dogs.

§ 3 states that the tragedy could not have moved the spectators because Rhesus, in as much as he was an ally of the Trojans, was necessarily an enemy to the Greeks; hence his death would be a cause of exultation rather than pity, moreover the Greeks regarded the Asiatics with contempt, etc. The Greeks must indeed have been "*memores iniuriarum*" to harbor resentment against the Trojan hero of a war 800 years before. If these objections hold, we must deny all tragic effect to the Persae of Aeschylus, where the actors are all these same barbarians and the enemies of the Greeks, and that too enemies at the time the play was acted.

Beck also objects (§ 3) that the murder must have been committed very near Paris therefore Paris should have known that something was wrong, but by Beck's own statement a little before it was not necessary that the murder should take place near at hand and even in that case Minerva under the guise of Venus told Paris that all was well which would make him so certain that his ears would be deaf to everything suspicious—he would mistake a groan for a night mare or a snore. (For the sake of brevity I omit certain objections the answers to which are self-evident, e. g. that it is contrary to the character of a god to deceive as Minerva does in the play, yet Jupiter sends a lying dream to Agamemnon, v. Iliad, II.)

Beck says (§ 4) that the charioteer comes in "*mortally wounded*" yet makes a very long speech. But the play does not state that the charioteer was mortally wounded; the charioteer seems to be the only one who thinks so, and it is well known how large a part imagination plays in such cases; the very fact that he makes a long speech proves that either he was *not* mortally wounded or that he was wounded in such a way as not to prevent his making a speech. The single speech of this same charioteer has sufficient elegance, as Paley says, to

stamp the poet as one of high order, whether he be Euripides or not.

§ 4 objects to the whining, schoolboy tone in which the chorus reply to Hectór's accusing them of leaving their posts. The chorus' manner is explained by the introduction, that the feelings were most freely expressed in the heroic age.

§ 4 also objects that Hector's answer to the charioteer's charge of murder has too little spirit, an objection which has some force. The reason that Hector does not mourn more vehemently at Rhesus' death is jealousy. Hector had, as he thought, accomplished the work and Rhesus had come to deprive him of the honor. Would it not be out of place then for him to be too much affected at Rhesus' death? Euripides comprehends the natural feeling Hector had, in making him express himself in no stronger words than vs. 958: “οὐ μὴν θανόντι γ' οὐδαμῶς συνήδομαι.” The objection that the tragedy has neither δέσιν nor λύσιν will be disposed of in the next chapter.

An objection is raised that the proverbial expressions in Rhesus are so few and meager that it cannot have come from the γνωμοτύπος Euripides, of this more anon. There are however seventeen γνῶμαι in the play.

i. e. 106-107, 162-163, 197-199, 317-318, 320, 325-326, 328-332, 395, 481, 510-511, 626, 758-760, 858-860, 961, 980-983. In the Hecuba there are 29, Orestes 30, Phoen. 31, Medea 42, Hippol. 36, Alcestis 20, Androm. 36, Supplices 42, I. A. 54, I. T. 23, Troades 22, Bacchae 13, Cyclops 4, Herac. 14, Helena 23. Beck objects, citing examples, to the strange and uncouth expressions, but how can we decide on that point when not one five hundredth part of Grecian tragic literature is extant? Beck also thinks if Rhesus was genuine Aristophanes would certainly have ridiculed it. Possibly he did, we have but one-fifth of his writings, but probably he did not for Vater says: (Vindiciae p. CLII) “*Materiam vero quod attinet, hanc Rhesum probatissimam fuisse Aristophani, iure mihi statuere videor. Neque enim argumentum vituperari potest. Non Phaedrae, non Stheneboeae, non Canaceae, non Augae representantur, sed castra, et bella, et nocturni tumultus.*”

One objection, that of K. O. Mueller, is noticeable. He says: "The scene in which Paris appears the instant that Diomedes and Ulysses have left the stage, while Athena is still there, requires four actors, and this may also be used as an argument to prove that it was composed at a later period." Mueller forgets that there is such a thing as a *παραχορήγημα* whose business it was to untangle just such snarls as this (v. L. and S. Greek Lex. *sub voce*.) Thus the scheme of persons would be: Protagonist: Aeneas, Shepherd, Rhesus, Diomedes, Charioteer, Muse. Deuteragonist: Hector, Ulysses. Parachoregema I: Dolon, Pallas. Parachoregema II: Paris. (v. Vater, p. 55.)

IV. We mention Hermann's theory separately, not because it differs especially in its nature from the theory of the last section, but because he has supported it with peculiar vigor. The argument is this: The tragedy of Rhesus shows: (1) *Imperitia inventionis*, (2) *Inepta imitatio Homeri*, (3) *Aemulatio Atticae tragoeiae antiquae*, (4) *ostentatio doctrinae*, (5) *Dictio plena raris verbis*. These are the qualities found in writers of the Alexandrian period. Therefore Rhesus was written by an Alexandrian poet. (1) and (2) we have shown to be false, (3) and (4) are measurably true, (5) is doubtful as the remnants of Greek literature are too insignificant to indicate very much on this point. But Hermann's conclusion does not follow from the premises, the conclusion he should draw, if his premises were correct, is that the authorship is doubtful and possibly Alexandrian; but Paley well says: "This cannot safely be sustained, if we compare the simple and elegant style of the play with the affected bombast and obscurity of that school of writers."

V. Nothing now remains but to admit the genuineness of the play, for the theories of the opposers have been shown to be fallacious, while chapter III shows that all external evidence is in favor of the authenticity of the play. Shall we consider the play a satyric drama with Dindori or with others a tragedy? Certainly not the former, because the Cyclops and Alcestis(?) as representative satyric dramas preclude any comparison of Rhesus with them, and, moreover, we have shown that the play is imbued with the tragic element modified by the lesson to be taught.

To still further enforce our arguments we shall show (1) that the Rhesus is well able to stand the test of Aristotle's Poetic; (2) Euripides' characteristics; (3) that the Rhesus is in accordance with these characteristics or at least not opposed to them.

## VI.

### ARISTOTLE'S POETIC.

"Tragedy," Aristotle says, "is limited to one period of the sun." The events in the Rhesus occur within two hours.

In chapter six of the Poetic he says: "Tragedy is the imitation of a worthy and complete action possessing magnitude, in pleasant language, making use of the different kinds of imitation by actors and not by messengers, and by means of pity and fear effects a purification from such emotions." The action in the Rhesus is the story of the slaughter of Rhesus, a plot which is worthy, for it leaves nothing to be desired. That the language is pleasing we have already shown. The lesson taught we have emphasized; the "pity" in the play is that Rhesus should suffer such a punishment for boasting, that a hero should fall so quickly from his dizzy height. "Pity" is at the climax (as it should be) at the apotheosis of Rhesus. The "fear" is the sudden fall of pride. On viewing the action as a whole we are purified from the errors of the hero.

Chap. 6, § 12 says: "If anyone place in a continued series moral saying and sentiments well framed, he will not produce that which is the work of tragedy, but that will be much more a tragedy which uses these things as subordinate and which contains a fable and combination of incidents." The action of the Rhesus is never at a standstill, and the mere speeches, &c., are in the background. The incidents, though not numerous are to the point; e. g. the Doloneia and the Astronomical Chorus.

(§ 14, Chap. 6.) "The fable is the principle part of manners." A glance at the outline in chapter II *supra* will show how strongly the plot of the play is brought into relief.

In § 4 Chap. 8, Aristotle says that the unity of action is secured by making all the parts depend upon the principal part in such manner that if any one of them be taken away, the

whole would become different and changed. Remove the Doloneia from the Rhesus, and Ulysses and Diomedes could not have found the countersign and could not have escaped the Trojans. But you will say: "Athena might have told them the countersign." True, so Athena, so far as that is concerned, might have slain Rhesus herself and saved the trouble of the whole tragedy; but after the guards had roused Hector and told him the circumstances, there was nothing left but to send a spy; moreover the objection that Athena might just as well have given the countersign to the Greeks holds equally well in the Iliad, yet no one finds fault with the Doloneia there.

§ 14, Chap. 9 says: "When chance takes the appearance of purpose or design, the ideas of the terrible and marvelous are aroused as in the case of Mityus' statue falling upon and killing the man who had killed Mityus." So the killing of Rhesus seems to be a design to punish the boaster and the over sanguine, and thus the idea of the terrible and marvelous is aroused.

Chap. 13 shows that the best tragedies should not have worthy subjects changing from prosperity to adversity, nor yet unworthy subjects changing from adversity to prosperity, but that the hero's character must be midway between excellence and depravity. This is the case with Rhesus, by no means perfect and by no means depraved, he suffers the fate of a boaster. The ending of the Rhesus is on the whole unhappy, which is not, according to Aristotle, necessary to tragedy, yet is most suitable thereto. Therefore those who insist that the Rhesus is not a fit subject for tragedy because there is no tragic ending(?) are at fault again, for the spectators, as Aristotle says, *preferred* a favorable conclusion to a tragedy, and for the sake of example, he states that though Orestes and Aegisthus in Euripides' tragedy come upon the stage the greatest of enemies, yet neither falls by the hand of the other. Therefore even if we admit that the Rhesus has not a tragic ending, which is absurd, it does not follow that it is not a tragedy and the work of Euripides.

§ 4, Chap. 14, says: "It is necessary that the actions, in order to be dreadful or lamentable should be either those of friends

toward each other, or of enemies, or neither, but if an enemy kill an enemy or an indifferent person, there is nothing pitiable, but it is between friends and relations that actions become pitiable." The Rhesus does not conform strictly to this principle, nevertheless it seems true that, when we have taken a particular interest in a person, his slaughter must awaken our pity, and this Aristotle admits when he speaks of the pity that always arises from the deed itself; but in the play the appearance of the muse with the dead body of her son must excite great compassion. The other plays of Euripides that do not conform to this principle are Hecuba, Orestes, Alcestis, Two Iphigenias, Ion, and Helen.

Chapter 15 says that the manners must be good, adapted to the persons, similar and consistent, (v. Chap. VII of this essay,) and cites instances where Euripides (though generally most excellent in manners) has failed; e. g. depraved manners, Menelaus in the Orestes; inappropriate manners, in the Melanippe; anomalous manners, Iphigenia at Aulis.

Chapter 18 says that every tragedy should have a  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\imath\nu$  and  $\lambda\acute{u}\sigma\imath\nu$ . The *nodus* in the Rhesus becomes intricate enough at least to sanction the introduction of a god twice to untie it. The complication of the play is at its first height just before the slaughter of Rhesus when the questions of how is Paris to be avoided, Hector, where Rhesus is situated, the whole action of Diomedes and Ulysses, are to be decided. The second *nodus* is when the muse appears, to enforce the moral lesson, to excite pity the more by her dead son in her arms, and, finally, to refute the charioteer's charge. If you compare the complications in this plot with the Troades, Suppliants, and Heraclidae of Euripides, or the Persae of Aeschylus, you can easily judge how groundless the charge is that it has no  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\imath\nu$  or  $\lambda\acute{u}\sigma\imath\nu$ .

Of the four kinds of tragedy mentioned by Aristotle—complicated, pathetic, moral, those like the Prometheus,—the Rhesus belongs more especially to the third, with elements, however, of the second. The chorus, however, holds a little more closely to the matter under discussion than is the case with most of Euripides' choruses; yet this is a merit

rather than a fault as Aristotle well says.

Chap. 22 says that the virtue of diction consists in being perspicuous and not mean. This is a quality of Euripides and a marked characteristic of Rhesus. One can always extract some kind of meaning from Euripides who nevertheless is so myriad minded that each new reading gives more light. The perspicuity of Rhesus is such that but one or two (textually corrupt) passages are ambiguous, yet who thinks to master it at a single reading is as much at fault as he who thinks to master *Medea* or *Macbeth* at a single reading.

A poet is reprehensible, according to Aristotle (Chap. 25) for introducing (1) impossibilities, (2) absurdities, (3) evil tendencies, (4) contraries, (5) errors against the rectitude of art; and in these cases only. Now it is only on the ground of (2) and (5) that Rhesus has been reprehended; but the play is not absurd for the so-called absurdities have been proven false, and has no errors against the rectitude of art, as the preceding test by the "Poetic" shows. . . . Rhesus is not reprehensible, that is, it is worthy of Euripides. Possibly two or three of Euripides' plays could have stood the test of the "poetic" as well as Rhesus, therefore we can appreciate the truth of Vater's statement: "*Tantum abest ut hoc drama ineptum judicem ut ceteris Euripidis tragoeidiis praestare paene dicam.*"

## VII.

### EURIPIDES.

I. Euripides brought tragedy down from its stilts making it not *humilis* but human. His instructor in philosophy and science was Anaxagoras while his intimacy with Socrates developed the philosophical tendency in his works. Euripides' moral philosophy is of the purest kind, ever seeking to inculcate the principle *μέτριον τὸ ἀριστον*, and, though his nature held in no favor the religious system of the Greeks, yet he did not discard it but attempted to modify it to a greater morality. He says: There is no unjust God. (Iph. T. 391.) It is a glorious labor to serve the Lord, (Ion. 131.) God rules the greater but leaves the lesser events to fortune. God cares for man. (*Fragmenta.*) God lacks nothing, (Herc. F. 1345.)

God hates those who carry on orgies impiously, (*Bacchae* 476.) That Gods should err like men is shameful, (*Ion.* 341, 367.) The Gods are the friends of the good.

Euripides' philosophical tendency expresses itself generally in proverbs, which in his extant plays number about 450.

The charge of misogyny brought against Euripides is not without foundation. He says: None can escape a bad woman, (*And.* 270.) Women is of all things the worst. (*fray.*) Women are always wicked. (*Hip.* 664.) Women are fools. (*Electra* 1035.) Nothing is worse than a wicked woman, nothing better than a good one. (*Melannippe the wise.*) Women's sphere is the household. (*Elec.* 74.) Women are not to be believed. (*Sthenoboea.*) etc. Yet before condemning Euripides as a womanhater we should consider the context from which these quotations are taken; moreover there are counter statements by Euripides. e. g. There are to be found wise and most talented women. (*Medea* 1084.) It is foolish wicked to inveigh against all women. Then too Euripides was unfortunate in marriage and was not in a position to judge without bias. He redeems himself too by portraying such women as *Alcestis*. Let us then not judge him too harshly.

Euripides characters are clear cut. His treatment of tragedy was somewhat contrary to the associations of the Greeks and was therefore inveighed against by Aristophanes and other conservatives. If it is disennobling the stage to make tragedy less pompous, Euripides disennobled it. If it is ennobling the stage to make it true, Euripides ennobled it; with him tinsel fell; not fine scenery, but gaudy trappings were abandoned. This lowering (?) of tragedy, Euripides' love of argument, his *σοφίαν* his treatment of women, and his morals, were the especial objects of the wit of Aristophanes; as Paley says, the moral Aristophanes is often shocked at the immoral Euripides.

The ancients described the characteristics of Euripides by such epithets as: *κυριολογίαν*, *σοφίαν*, *πάθος*, *communem sermonem*, *φιλόβιβλον*. Dion Chrysostomus extols the keenness, force, and political views of Euripides. Aristophanes calls him *σοφώτατος γνωμοτύπος*; Aristotle, *γωνυικώτατος*.

His style then is philosophy dressed up in elegant meters;

therefore, as we should expect, this plays always strive for virtue and a purpose. Euripides style is easy at first sight, “*perspicua et non humiliis.*” Nevertheless the old epigram well says:

“λείη μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπίρροθος εἰ δέ τις αὐτὴν εἰσβαίνοι χαλεποῦ τρυχετέρη σκόλοπος.”

Euripides excels “*in affectibus, in descriptionibus, in narrationibus.*” In contrast with Euripides the ancients speak of the *στόμα* of Aeschylus and the *μεγαλαφωνίαν, λογιότητα, φύσιν, and ἀνωμαλίαν* of Sophocles.

II. Let us see if the Rhesus is so opposed to these characteristics of Euripides as to prelude its genuineness. “The characters of Euripides are clear-cut.” In the Rhesus, Hector is drawn perhaps a little too strongly yet his qualities even in the Iliad are rashness and lack of firmness. Rhesus is still more boldly drawn to illustrate the fall of pride. That Hector changes his purpose in regard to Rhesus is in accordance with the changeableness of his character; since he is overshadowed by the boasting of Rhesus it is only natural that he should oppose him. The characters of the play are preeminently human except the actual *deus*. Were the play Aeschylean, the action would have been far higher in the clouds. Yet it seems that there is an Aeschylean tint to the scenery, especially in the equipment of Rhesus. (cf. Phoenissae.)

Euripides love of argument is well illustrated in the dialogue between Hector and Rhesus, and in the speech of the charioteer of Rhesus. We have already alluded to “pathos.”

The heroic nature of the plot prevents too much moralising yet the maxims are neither few nor un-Euripidean. *e. g.* “We have different parts to play, some to fight and some to counsel,” 106–107. “Profit doubles one’s interest in work,” 160–163. Most remarkable are vss. 980–983 where Paley remarks: “Those who rightly consider the trials of a married life, will shun the chance of having a family and of losing them. This touching sentiment is a favorite one with Euripides” (v. Medea 1090 *segg.* Alc. 882, etc.), and so far is an evidence that the play was really from his pen.”

The choruses are a little more connected with the plot than

is customary in most of Euripides plays, yet no more so for instance than those of the Alcestis. From the Euripidean elegance of the choric meters an argument for the genuineness of the play may also be induced.

The epigram quoted above is peculiarly applicable to the Rhesus. At the first reading the play seems simple enough but by degrees new lights appear, difficulties arise—a proof of authenticity.

*“Euripides excellit in affectibus concitandis, in descriptionibus in narrationibus.”* The first has been considered. The description of Rhesus and his train shows wonderful power of description, the same applies to the narration of the charioteer.

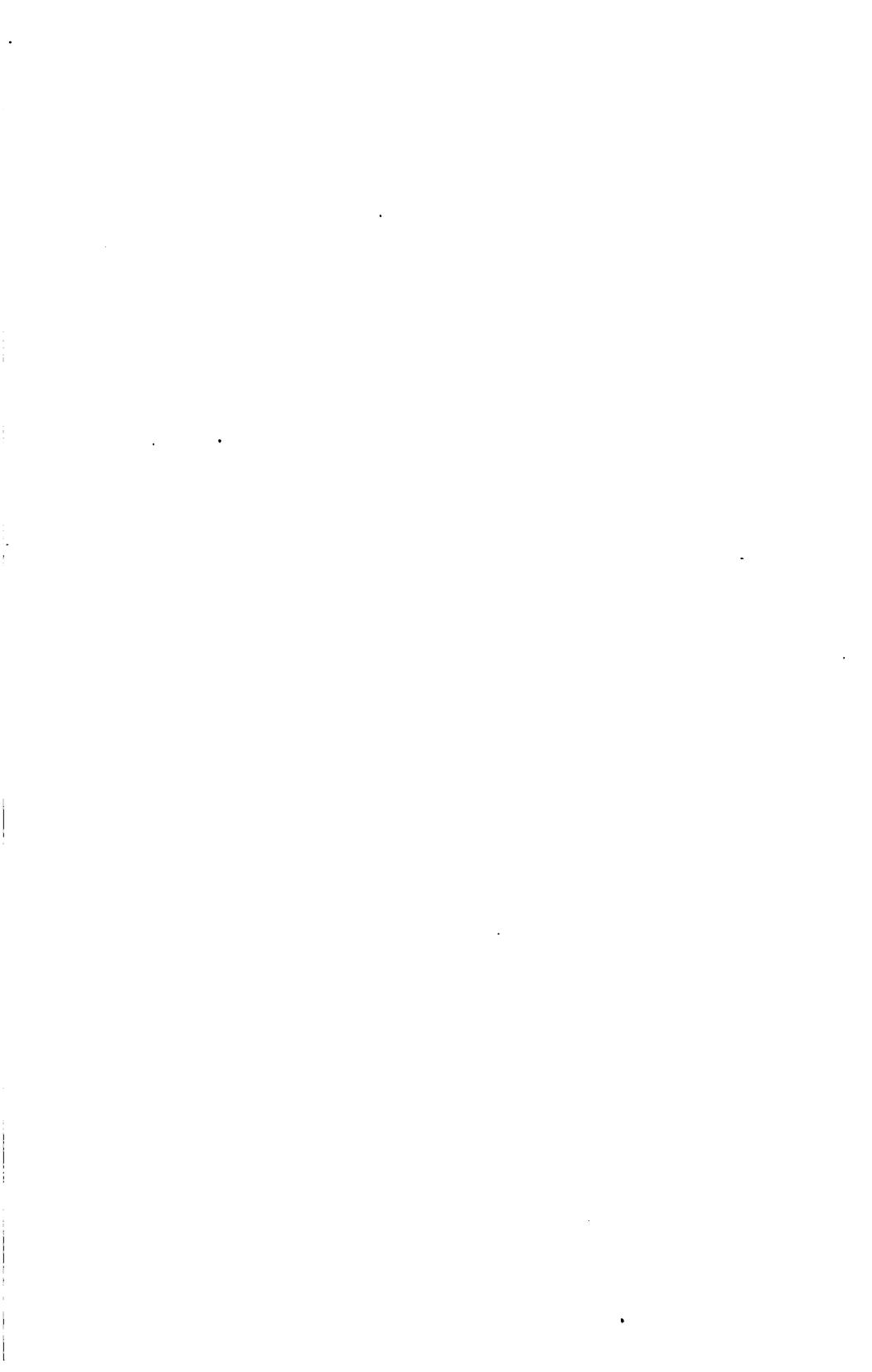
III. Some textual considerations throw light on the authorship. *γοργωπός*, line 7, is Euripidean (v. *Her. F.* 1266, 868, *Ion.* 210 *Electra* 461.) If anyone objects to the phrase *ἔφορονς σφαγίων*, line 30, conjecture with Barnes *σταδίων*. *οἱ σοφοὶ μοι*, line 66, *μοι*=contempt. Euripides hated seers. Line 87, “Aeneas’ haste is well illustrated by the omission of *διά*.” “*ρέων ροξ elegans nonque inusitata*,” line 290. Line 335: “Elegant proverb savoring of ancient simplicity.” *αίματηρός πέλανος*=blood. *Alc.* 850 I. T. 300. v. Barnes’ note which goes far toward establishing the authenticity. *πίπτω*, line 436, v. Barnes. Lines 498-9 are a presage of Rhesus’ death and portray well the character of Ulysses and Diomedes. *καρδίαν δεδηγμένοι*, v. *Alcestis* 1100. This is a peculiarly Euripidean phrase. 791, *δυσθρήτ σκοντος* “*verbum Euripideum*,” v. *Electra*, 843. *Γλῶσσ’ ὡς σὺ κομπεῖς* &c., vs. 876, Euripidean; vs. 909, v. Barnes’ note. *αἰθον*, 990, peculiar to Euripides. v. *Supplices* 208.

There is then not only nothing in the play contrary to the style of Euripides, but even many things in accordance therewith. Therefore as both external and internal evidence concur in favor of the authenticity, we must conclude that the author of the tragedy of Rhesus is Euripides, the son of Mnesarchus.













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